

The Voters Behavior Towards Women Candidates in the 2019 Legislative Election in North Luwu Regency

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ABSTRACT

The results showed that the absence of female candidates who passed the legislative body in North Luwu Regency showed that the implementation of the policy *affirmative action* of the 30 percent quota of women's representation was not optimal, even though voter behavior was no longer significant in questioning gender issues in politics. This is due to the dominance of male political elites which still have a big influence because the voting community still sees the existence of these political elites. In addition, it is due to the failure of political parties to regenerate and build political commitment to women. Although in the 2014-2019 period there were two female representatives in the legislative body of North Luwu Regency, in the 2019-2023 elections they were not re-elected because they no longer had a network of power and kinship. The most crucial factor is that money politics is still a compromise tool in the electoral process, political actors play a role in money politics, so this makes no female candidates elected because of their inability to compete with the flow of money politics even though they have incurred political costs. which is not the least. Voters will choose a certain candidate if he feels there is a reciprocal that will be accepted as well as political candidates who are afraid of losing their votes, this irrational act (playing money politics) becomes the last resort.

INTRODUCTION

Politics is an arena for the contestation of power. However, if the constellation arena does not provide fair space for all interests, there will be the hegemony of the interests of the majority against minority groups. The experience of Latin America and Scandinavian countries that have succeeded in the struggle for policies *affirmative action* shows that women's involvement is absolute in the political constellation to fight for women. In Indonesia, when entering the Reformation Era, the surge of awareness about the absence of women in formal political institutions, the legislative, executive, and judiciary began to emerge and the idea that the absence of women in decision-making institutions was tolerated by the complexity of channeling women's aspirations. (Martha Tilaar, 2013: 25)

Various changes in political struggles in the reform era and changes in the political constellation, the role of women in democracy has also undergone significant changes. The issuance of Law No. 65 paragraph (1), which agrees on women's involvement by providing a 30 percent quota in legislative bodies, this policy indicates that the space for women to take part in politics is increasingly open.

The issue of the presence of women in parliament is inseparable from what is in the interests of women themselves because the different needs of women and men are important. The issue of different social roles then becomes the core of why women need representation in aspirating their voices.

Gender interests are those formed collectively as a result of the construction of gender roles and gender relations. (Dewi Haryani Susilastuti, 2013: 11).

The policy *affirmative action* benefits women's access to be involved in the open political stage, but the unpreparedness of political parties in anticipating this policy makes some political parties overwhelmed to find women to meet the 30 percent quota, sometimes parties attract women with skyrocketing popularity compared to those with capacity. Political pragmatism is present in fulfilling this quota of women which could then lead to exploitation of women if the party only recruits female candidates for the sake of fulfilling the 30 percent quota without providing political education and training. (Asri Abdullah, 2014: 102)

As a result, the opportunities for women candidates to get the attention of the voting community are not maximized even though the opportunities are wide open for women. It is feared that the political reality in the legislative sphere will affect the general policy decision-making process which may cause "*gender blindness*" because they do not understand the specific needs of women and their environment.

In essence, in general elections, the people play an important role in choosing their own representatives who deserve to occupy the parliament and government structures, because the political system in Indonesia has exercised people's rights in elections (Hafied Cangara, 2011: 165). However, linking this with *affirmative action* as an effort to increase women's representation is important in a political process. Likewise, in building a democratic system in a country, political parties should be an effective means of supporting the quality of democracy that can act as a liaison between the people and the government as well as in terms of regeneration and equipping female candidates who are advanced in political contestation.

In the 2019 legislative election in North Luwu Regency, a political phenomenon occurred which then made the position of women in politics disappear. According to data from the final list of legislative candidates for the North Luwu Regency, there are 375 total candidates (Komisi Pemilihan Umum Luwu Utara: 2019), including 241 male candidates and 134 contesting candidates, but not a single female candidate was elected.

A different result if you look back at the context of the executive election, namely the 2016 simultaneous regional elections in North Luwu Regency, the election of women as regents have

become a separate topic in the political axis in the regions. Indah Putri Indriani, since previously being a deputy regent, produced an understanding of gender equality that was produced in society and became a contributive discourse in the political and governmental circulation in North Luwu. This construction then expanded and became a modality for women's advancement in the public sphere. Until then, his political transmission led him to be elected Regent. But unfortunately, the euphoria of society in choosing women who fight in politics does not act and survive. In the 2016 Pilkada, Indah Putri Indriani was successfully elected as Regent (Wibowo, 2017), but in the 2019 Pileg, there were no female candidates who were successfully elected as people's representatives in the North Luwu parliament, all of them were occupied by men.

This political phenomenon then became a hot issue because it clearly shows different voter behavior towards female candidates. A large number of voter choices in the 2019 Pileg coupled with the strongest legislative candidates (political elites), the majority of men, made the power of female candidates not meeting maximum results. In the 2016 Pilkada, voters saw the candidate they chose based on the figure of Indah Putri Indriani. Meanwhile, in the 2019 legislative elections, no female figure was elected.

The results of the voting in terms of electing women in the executive and legislative branches indicated that the political behavior of the people of North Luwu could not be predicted even though all parties participating in this political contestation had female candidates because they had to meet the 30 percent quota. Based on this, this study seeks to see the political reality of how voters behave towards female candidates in the 2019 legislative elections in the North Luwu district.

METHODS

Qualitative methods with analytic descriptive approach. This is to get in-depth data and meaningful data. This means that the qualitative method directly presents the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the informant, the object, and the research subject (Syamsuddin, et al., 2015: 19) . In this study, the informants as the data source were selected using *porposive sampling*. The type of data of this research is primary data, and secondary data. The pointing method in a way that can be shown to the user through observation, interviews(*interview*), documentation, and so on. Meanwhile, the data collection instrument is a tool used to collect data. Because it is a tool, the instrument can be informed of a *smartphone*, a list of interview questions, and others. The data processing and analysis

techniques are *data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification*.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Orientation, Value Standards and Factors Affecting Voters' Behavior Towards Female Candidates

Ideally, in making choices, reviews are needed to determine the attitude or direction of choice which is then called orientation. Likewise, in determining political choices, it must be determined from various things related to the candidates to be elected later. In the context of voter behavior, what is being thought and desired is closely related to the orientation of the interests of the voters themselves. The political orientation of the voters is actually a perspective on politics which then underlies them to carry out political activities (Ratih Puspa Yunita, 2014: 73).

Observing the importance of women's representation, that actually the needs of women are very different from men's, because instead of that, women policy makers are also needed in order to reach the specific basic needs of women.

Representation of women in politics, there are at least two types of representation, namely (a) representation of ideas / ideas in question is that they can be represented to other than women because ideas / ideas related to women can be conveyed by other than women; (b) Representation of existence (existence) includes two aspects, namely: (i) Cannot be represented by other than women, so that the composition of women's representation is the same as that of women represented; and (ii) Women must also be represented by women, because those who know more about women's needs are women themselves (Latifah Iskandar, Rubrik opini Media Indonesia, 3 September 2008).

The absence of women's representation in the North Luwu parliament will clearly make the aspirations related to women not properly actualized, even though in the executive realm it is led by a woman, this is not enough if it is not accompanied by women in the legislature. The importance of women's presence in parliament because of the aspirations of women is also something that must be considered.

The existence of women in parliament is indeed very important to pay attention to specific conditions in the field, in a deeper discussion that the struggle for women's emancipation must actually be fought for at this time, because the progress of modernization in the midst of social life will also be

rapid along with the needs. the need will always change and increase, therefore things like this must be fought for, in addition to making women aware and actively paying attention to the flow of politics, the community can also understand women's representation which is very important.

The representation of women in politics, especially in people's representative institutions, is not without basic reasons. There are several things that make fulfilling the 30% quota for women's representation in politics considered important. Some of them are responsibility and sensitivity to public policy issues, especially those related to women and children, the social environment, good morals, women's ability to do work *multitasking*, and time management. In addition, it is necessary to acknowledge the fact that women are accustomed to carrying out their duties as leaders in social groups and in community activities, such as in posyandu, women's empowerment groups, school committees, and recitation groups. This reason is not only ideal as a form of basic capital for the leadership and experience of women's organizations in social life. This argument also shows that women are close to public policy issues and it is relevant to have a significant amount of representation in fighting for public policy issues in the policy process, especially in people's representative institutions (Feybe M. P Wuisan, Journal Unsrat, 2, 2013: 3).

The participation of women in politics is an important thing, especially in relation to gender issues which are a crucial agenda given that the aspirations of men and women are different. The standard value of women's political participation is about the realization of equality in the form of emancipation which is very important, especially in broader social issues and the fulfillment of women's political constitutional rights that women also have the same role as men in public affairs.

As stated in an interview with a community leader, Mr. Ustadz Syamsu Alam who said: "*The humanitarian obligation of women and men is equal, amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar in the human status both have the same rights, that's the first. Second, in the effort of transformation and humanization in terms of social and political relations, as in the Qur'an surah Al-Hujurat verse 13, it explains the position of a man and woman who are made as nations and tribes to get to know each other, of course the meaning of this is very broad. Women and men in social relations have the same rights, even in politics as long as women have the scientific, mental and other potential to enter the world of politics*" (Syamsu Alam, interview, 05 October 2020).

The role of women continues to be opened up in political contestation which is the main agenda for why women must be fought for and is a priority agenda in the flow of politics. This condition clearly makes women also have to sit in the realm of policy makers. In the development of democracy during this reform period, women's progress was supported by a 30% quota for women's representation in the law and this has become a standard value for why women should get support. However, in line with that, the capacity and quality of a woman who advances in political spaces must be adequate and able to compete with politicians who are still dominated by men.

As explained in an interview with the North Luwu Regent Indah Putri Indriani who said: "Actually, when talking about women's interest in politics, especially in the previous legislature, it was quite significant. In general, the supporting parties met the 30% requirement, it's just that they have not been able to surpass the votes of men. men, now this is indeed a separate homework, especially education for our society, in addition to the needs of female political actors, women political actors must also continue to develop their potential, especially this, we hope that they will not only appear at political events but must be active in various organizations. including political organizations. So later it is not just a complement. In the context of the executive, we have seen several times from various survey results, the level of acceptance of the North Luwu community towards women's acceptance is quite good, if we look at the figure up to 78%, there was even one survey institution that received up to 81% of women leaders, meaning that the community very open to electing female leaders. So the homework is once again, if I focus more on self-development then that too, the emergence not only when political events begin, but must be active in organizations that are continuous in nature so that the level of public recognition of these women legislative candidates will be better. indeed in the legislature there are hundreds of candidates. So the point is actually in the introduction, if you already know the expectations, the level of liking will also be higher. If so, the potential for the electability level is also high." (North Luwu Regent Indah Putri Indriani, interview, 6 October 2020).

As this explanation, Ann Philips in her book *the Politics of Presence*, emphasized that women representatives in parliament should not only be interpreted as high numbers but also interpreted by the presence of those who have the power of transformation. That is, the presence of women members of the legislature should be meaningful quantitatively and be able to bring ideas and ideas that change the direction of political policy so as to present the interests of their constituents, namely

women's groups. This then became the substance of the politics of presence (*the Politics of Presence*) when fighting for the entry of women in parliament to increase not only political participation but also women's political representation (Ann Philips, 1995: 23).

The condition of women to advance in politics today is still in hope both in terms of representation and capacity, however, in reality it is still not running optimally due to clashing views and various things that are assumed about women themselves. Especially in political battles which are known to have strong currents in every election competition.

North Luwu Regency is the only district in South Sulawesi that does not have a female representative who has passed the Legislative Body, even though it is chaired by a female Regent. This is a unique phenomenon in terms of today's political reality. In fact, the East Luwu Regency area, which is a fraction of the North Luwu Regency, in this period succeeded in passing two female representatives in the East Luwu Parliament.

The unsatisfactory situation in the political reality of women's representation in the Legislative Council of North Luwu Regency shows that serious improvements are needed in socio-political activities, especially in terms of instilling political commitment and understanding to women and society itself as voters. For example, in terms of the seriousness of political parties that nominate female candidates, the most important process is not only when it has met the 30% target so that it meets the requirements, but in terms of regeneration to instill a strong commitment in politics is much more important in order to encourage and build voter orientation. to support female candidates as a fundamental step in dealing with political and women's problems in this Legislative Body, although there are still several other issues that are quite crucial, including:

1. The Influence of the Existence of Elites on Voter Behavior

Voter behavior in the political process is an emotional response that is applied in the form of political action, namely to provide political support and fulfill the right to vote. The orientation of voter behavior sometimes changes along with the political situation. The political behavior of the community can change according to the preferences that underlie it, this is because people live in a moving space, especially in political conditions that will always experience changes in attitude according to growing interests.

The factors shaping voter behavior in determining their political choices are influenced by the experiences of the candidates themselves while in office and the reflections on what is produced for society because behavior can involve human attitudes acting on things which can also have feedback from social interactions that occur. accepted and have the influence to shape the behavior itself.

Political contestation, especially in the legislative elections, of course there are hundreds of legislative candidates competing in a district / city, for example North Luwu Regency in the 2019 contest, there were 375 legislative candidates who advanced from various selected regions (dapil). Too many candidates who become choices with various backgrounds will require the voting community to have an orientation in choosing and determining the criteria they will choose.

Based on the findings of researchers in the field by interviewing several informants, they found that voter orientation to choose is formed from how the candidate offers a vision, mission or priority agenda that they will do in the future, ideas and ideas that are solutions to address societal problems is one of the keys to attracting voters.

The orientation of the voters in making choices is sometimes also formed from the influence of various other factors, such as family environment. This is a social factor that shapes voter behavior. In the sociological approach, the substance is that social influence is a factor behind the choice. Family factors and their influence on the formation of voter behavior, it is not uncommon for the head of the household to influence his family members in making choices.

The family's approach to making political choices is very influential. Socially, the family is the smallest organization in society that has a share in shaping the individual character among family members, as well as in general elections that the influence of the family is also very decisive in political choices.

In addition, the age factor then became an important part in capturing votes for candidates, both young and old voters, especially young voters, which received a lot of attention from political contestants in garnering votes. Sociologically, age grouping is a strategic way to raise votes. The voices of young people have attracted certain groups of people to attract political support in recent political events, as well as in North Luwu District. However, there is no specific preference regarding support for female candidates from young voters.

The age factor can influence voting behavior because in this category many are formed from the environment or the association with others, for example, friendship circles. Friendship groups have a lot of influence, motivation formed by intensive communication between members, because in this social process, the intensity of communication and behavior is very dominant (Nahriyah Fata, *Journal of Sociology*, 01, 2015: 153).

In substance, the considerations are then made in determining the choice of voters or in obtaining information about the legislative candidates in terms of their socialization, political campaigns in the election season become separate means of shaping voter orientation, increasing communication intensity and for strengthen emotional ties. The activeness of the candidates in socializing can significantly raise the candidate's name, especially for new voters and millennial voters.

Responding to the problem of not having women sitting in the parliament of North Luwu Regency when viewed from the reality on the ground, it is very proportional to the fact that the majority of the political elite in North Luwu Regency are men. The existence of this political elite is very attractive and shapes the orientation of the voters, because it already has well-known social modalities. This fact has made women candidates fail to form a voter orientation so that this problem greatly affects the existence of women in legislative politics in North Luwu Regency.

This was also responded to by the head of the Golkar Party faction, Amir Makhmud, who said: "*In terms of socialization, men are more involved in society so that their level of acceptance can be higher. Even from Golkar, which in the past period had two representatives who passed women, this year it failed too. And the fact is that people still see a lot of male legislative candidates especially senior ones because they are considered to have a strong influence on the development of North Luwu*" (Amir Makhud, interview, 7 October 2020).

The views of voters in voting in the 2019 legislative election in North Luwu Regency based on the results of the interview above also place great importance on a direct approach because it can also be analyzed that the importance of interaction between humans and one another which of course will also be related to the attitudes and values of a person which then raises the orientation to choose. Thus, it can make voters choose candidates who are considered capable of providing good interaction. However, this was not used by female candidates, thus creating an unsatisfactory reality,

that women legislative candidates in North Luwu could not develop an orientation with their social interactions to influence the voting community.

Referring to the legislative political situation in North Luwu, sociologically the community is closer to the male political elite, this is because the strong political elites are all male, so that the orientation of society still refers to the existence of candidates from political elites. This. The political experience that has existed so far between the community and people's representatives is dominated by men, as well as social activities related to politics are always mostly attended by male politicians.

Even though on the executive side, Indah Putri Indriani as a woman politician is very active in social activities that are in direct contact with the community, but in comparison it is still not able to develop significant emotional ties, especially towards women in the legislature, because society can also address the political side between legislative and executive. Meanwhile, from the previous experience of women legislators, it is not strong enough to influence the existing political reality.

This can also be understood as the effect of psychological factors which assume that attitudes are central in explaining one's political behavior because first, attitudes are a function of interests. That is, an assessment of a person is given based on the motivation of the socialization, the interests and interests of that person. Second, attitude is a function of self-adjustment, meaning that a certain attitude is the result of that person's desire to be the same or not the same as a respected figure or role model.

One thing that shapes a person's attitude, especially in the political election process, is the information on attitude formation that is obtained or from issues that spread so that it has the impact of raising voter orientation. In this case, it can also be linked back that it is through the socialization process that psychological bonds develop.

The attitude of choosing someone depends on what motivation he gets, what interests are his needs and interests. Apart from that, the attitude of voting is the basis for the adjustment of the voters to their choices, whether the candidates they choose are really known and able to meet their expectations or are able to protect themselves and so on. Furthermore, from all this raises the orientation of choosing. But the conditions that are able to shape voting behavior come back to how the socialization offered by the candidate himself.

The case of female legislative candidates in North Luwu District who were unable to motivate voters and form a framework for voters' attitudes led to an unpleasant reality for female candidates themselves. Emotional ties and orientation - the orientation to vote for them does not live in the frame of mind of the voting community so that the sad fact is that no matter how complete the constitution requires women's participation in the legislature, if it is not picked up in an ideal action, it will still not be optimal for gender mainstreaming in legislative scope.

Moreover, the reality on the ground is that the most influential thing in the flow of legislative elections in North Luwu Regency is the figure of the candidates themselves. In this case the existence of the existence of the political elite. The track record of experience, achievements and others is an important point for the electability of political candidates. Actually, women who have advanced in this legislative battle have received support from the political elite to advance, but the problem is that, on the other hand, the elite is ambiguous in providing political support because they also have the same interest in being elected. This ultimately makes the track record of women in the world of legislative politics recorded as having no political competitiveness, women do not have political figures, they are different from the executive branch.

In the executive context, North Luwu Regency recorded a history of having the first female leader in South Sulawesi. The number of votes achieved by a woman from the total number of Permanent Voters Data (DPT) was 223,921 divided into 112,219 men and 111,702 women, while the number of users who participated in voting booths was 170,503 divided between 83,861 men and 86,642 women, confirmed the winning results of female executive candidates as much as 90,824 votes or 53.60% (North Luwu General Election Commission, 2015), to confirm her as Regent. Of course this is very different in the 2019 Pileg, from the 134 female candidates who nominated them, they did not contribute women's representatives to become people's representatives.

Analyzing the female figures in the executive who have successfully won the hearts of voters, basically, they have a long track record in political experience. But apart from that, in terms of socialization and direct interaction with the community, it has been successfully utilized to build communication relationships so that the internalization of their existence when nominating is good enough and close to social activities.

This was made clear by Mr. Karemuddin, Chairman of the PAN Party who stated: "Unlike Mrs.

Indah Yesterday, in terms of long political experience, from legislative candidates to deputy regents and finally she could become regents. that indeed women need a long time to be consistent in the political, especially in North Luwu (Karemuddin, interview, 5 October 2020) ”.

Consistency is something that female legislative candidates in North Luwu Regency do not currently have, so that they do not create figures who have more value in the view of society. Based on the explanation of the interview above, it shows a very striking difference from the political experience of the executive and legislature in North Luwu in terms of female candidates.

Refocusing on the reality of the legislature by looking at the standard value of gender equality in the process of electing women, society actually understands the need for the presence of women, but even so this has not yet been awakened because voters are still influenced by the presence of male political elites who are in the majority. , dominating the experiences of legislative politics in North Luwu District.

2. Political Parties and Voter Behavior

Political parties are the main vehicle for political candidates to advance in every political contestation, the role of political parties is very large in forming a voting orientation, because each political party has mass bases that become capital in every political party. political events. Political parties have been symbolized in the minds of the people as a reference in politics, therefore political parties must play an important, active and participatory role in providing political education to the public to open horizons of political knowledge, especially understanding the importance of women's participation in politics.

The presence of female candidates in the political realm, not a few underestimated, because it is caused by the level of commitment that is still lacking, especially in political issues towards women.

Rationally, the important point is how political parties play a full role in providing political supplies that are strongly committed to women, because the main value of a party is as a cadre organization which of course has to produce the best cadres.

The policy of *affirmative action* fulfilling the 30% quota for women is the main value standard that must be understood not only by political candidates, but also to the voting public. This policy

is an effort to make equality relations in politics for women and men. North Luwu Regency selected 134 women legislative candidates who then competed for parliamentary seats. However, due to the absence of movement from political parties to do things that support women optimally, raises the issue that women are basically recruited only to be used to meet the administrative registration requirements which require each party to meet the target of 30% only. This condition makes women unprepared in facing public challenges when engaging in socialization or political campaigns.

The main value standard that must be clarified and instilled in the minds of political parties, women legislative candidates and society is *affirmative action* as an act of positive discrimination to encourage women's representation in politics, because women no longer experience exclusion from political representation when referring to written provisions. However, women in politics in fact face many obstacles in the field. This situation shows that although basically attention has been paid to the fulfillment of women's rights in politics, the standardization has not yet been realized.

In fact, when talking about the factor of gender views in society or in terms of seeing gender or placing women in politics, it can actually be categorized as being more open even though it has not been developed and has a significant impact. Pros and cons of course become their own colors in political battles, as well as against female candidates. But on the other hand, the political situation of the executive incident has become a separate reference in relation to choosing women. It's just that the main problem for women is from the side of the cadre which has not been maximized from political parties, so it becomes a serious obstacle in a social perspective.

The understanding of gender is quite open, in the sense that questioning male or female candidates is no longer a reference for choosing the community in North Luwu Regency but the root of the problem that occurs is returning from the side of political parties that do not have serious references in optimizing the role of women in politics except if only just fulfilling the requirements. This problem greatly affects even sociological factors, in terms of individuals who interact with each other and make assumptions regarding political choices.

"Actually, it can be said that this political party failed to regenerate, especially for women. Because indeed it is the most difficult thing to find female cadres in politics and it took a long time to prepare female cadres in North Luwu. Even though the regulations are already supportive, even political parties cannot advance when they do not meet the 30% quota, but the crucial obstacle is that it is

difficult to find female cadres to be active in politics " (Karemuddin, North Luwu council representative, interview, 5 October 2020).

This kind of reality certainly looks unsatisfactory regarding the state of democracy, especially in women's politics. The juridical provisions that are not accompanied by reality on the ground seem to be a very influential obstacle. The failure of the party to carry out regeneration and build political commitment to women has made the structure of women's political spaces small.

Political parties have not been able to have a serious influence in shaping voter behavior on women's candidacy, even though parties have their respective voter bases and have an important role in the socialization of political education in society, but the standard of gender equality values in implementing *affirmative action* to support quality improvement the life and role of women in parliament has not yet been achieved and has not yet been developed in society.

3. The Influence of Power Networks and Kinship on Women Legislative Candidates Elected in the 2014-2019 Period

Parliamentary in North Luwu Regency to date has made it very difficult for women to occupy these positions. In contrast to the executive position, in this case North Luwu Regency is led by Indah Putri Indriani, who previously was the deputy district head. Even now, he returned to the battle for his second period as incumbent and was successfully elected again. This indicates that there are different views from the two sides of politics, the legislature and the executive, on the involvement of women.

In the 2014-2019 period in the North Luwu Regency parliament, there were actually two female council members, Rafika Said and Nirwana A. Gassing, all of whom came from the same party, namely Golkar. These two candidates have proven to have tenure experience as legislators, but based on this it is not enough to get them re-elected in the 2019-2024 period because they no longer have *backing* sufficient political like the period during their election.

The hope of women's representation in the realm of policy makers in North Luwu Regency was lost due to the failure of these two legislative candidates. This fact is also confirmed by the statement of Mr. Karemuddin as deputy chairman of the North Luwu Regency DPRD: "*Indeed, in the last legislative period there were two female candidates, and now they do not qualify. But back then it was because there were also strong people behind him who supported him so they could get away, one was*

the regent's wife who served at that time and the other was the regent's in-line, yes, all of them were close people so they could get away, if the general public is really difficult ". (Karemuddin, interview, 5 October 2020).

It can be understood that the influence of power and kinship in the political vortex sociologically is a strong part of one way of obtaining votes because the power factor that was still in office at that time could influence voter behavior. Things like this can then be said to be a determining factor, including the female candidates themselves such as in North Luwu Regency, the two women who were successfully elected as members of parliament in the 2014 period because they have a strong network of power with local political elites who are none other than part of his family who was in power at the time as Regent so this is what led to their electability.

As a result, when the wheels of power change, they can no longer be elected because they only rely on the power of power to influence voter behavior. As a result, for the 2019-2024 elections, they are no longer considered candidates because the influence of their power or *backing* political is stronger than themselves. On the other hand, the shortage of the two women parliamentarians for the 2014-2019 period did not create the impression of experience as a woman legislator in representing the aspirations of the community.

This then became the trigger that caused them not to be elected again. Therefore, in order to change the bad reality of women in legislative politics, significant and serious support is needed, especially from the political parties themselves, so that they can provide treatment to support the achievement of *affirmative action* that not only fulfill registration requirements but also extend to women's electability.

4. The Effect of Money on Voter Behavior

Questioning about choosing and being elected in every election momentum should be done on the basis of rational choice because this concerns the future of a political system that regulates many things. This rational factor is very important as a reference for voting because it can move voters to truly filter their choices to candidates who are able to represent the aspirations of the community in general. However, the opposite fact is what happens in society at every election moment, that voters will elect a certain candidate if they feel there is a trade-off that they will receive from an economic perspective, in this case money becomes the political standard. The rational approach becomes irrational in giving political choices

because it has been labeled with the power of money.

Indications of this fact are actually very threatening to an ideal democracy, but this irrational way of choosing is the last choice for society as long as a sound political education orientation cannot also be internalized into the understandings of the wider community.

The issue of money politics in political contestation is interesting to be appointed as a separate study in its impact on the candidacy of women. Political turmoil in Indonesia, not except at the local level, is always colored with money politics or known as *money politics* in every campaign season. The fertility of money politics cannot be separated from the perspective of the voters who are permissive to the phenomenon of money politics as a result of a lack of political understanding and / or also from the lack of education and economic levels.

"Money politics is what destroys our political system during elections, because only those who have a lot of money can qualify and the worst is the candidate. We cannot dismantle all of them, because the ones already selected in the previous period have already had a lot of capital. Especially if they are planting their mass bases with financial strength. Of course this also affects all candidates including women. It is getting more and more damaged, our society is always easily tempted by the lure of money, political actors also do not dare to fight purely without money if the election becomes difficult in this political situation " (Muhammad Kasim, interview, 19 October 2020).

The democratic process in Indonesia, the practice of *money politics* grows and develops, because the public often considers this to be normal, especially coupled with the competing legislative candidates who also spoil and familiarize the public with this because their fears are not elected if not for -Share money. The consequences that occur ultimately result in *money politics* being very difficult to eliminate at every election momentum, the worst situation is that people take advantage of this moment as a means of getting money or waiting for the "dawn attack" to arrive, in this case the dependence of the community on being given money by political candidates as a condition for choosing it.

The legislative elections in North Luwu Regency from year to year, regarding *money politics* are very prominent, money is used as a compromise tool in influencing voters. The exchange value of ideas and ideas is not a priority for understanding to the public, but the value of currency is a determinant in politics.

The bad consequences also have an impact on the fact that women are represented who are unable to follow the flow of the reality of the game of money politics even though they have also spent significant political costs. This is due to the political actualization in North Luwu Regency which is dominated by money. Thus, the patterns of the political process will continue to struggle with the domination of the power of money and, at worst, affect women's space to be elected because of their inability to compete.

Democracy should be carried out by efforts to make people's minds healthy by stimulating ideas from a vision and mission that builds according to the interests of the people, although the way to reach the level of policy makers must be through political competition, this should be used as a reference to educate the nation's life by showing healthy efforts. in competing with each other. However, it is political actors who often give bad examples to the public, especially in questioning money politics at every election moment. The conclusion of this reality is simply due to power and fear of defeat in a way that is far from the democratic order that is actually rampant in the political system.

Money politics as the main way to get votes and money is still the standard value for getting votes so money politics is very influential on voter behavior at every election, money is able to direct voters' choices to elect candidates who have lots of money, money has penetrated political life in society when the election. and in fact only the political elites are able to dominate the voters' voices.

It is common knowledge that every political contestation takes place, but the wheels of democracy have not been seriously handled so far in this unhealthy situation. Because on the other hand, political candidates are afraid of losing their votes if they don't rely on money, and on the other hand, people are reluctant to vote by heart if they still feel that their aspirations for political interests will never be achieved because they are based on previous experiences. Therefore, taking advantage of political momentum is one way of measuring profits and minimizing losses in the use of voting rights even though this irrational method is contrary to ideal democracy.

CONCLUSION

The majority of male political elites dominate the legislative political stage in North Luwu Regency, even though the community has understood the need for women's representation but this has not been able to develop because the existence of this political elite still has a very large influence on voter behavior because the community

still sees its existence. of these political elites. This is also due to the socio-political experiences that exist between the community and people's representatives which are dominated by male politicians, which then becomes one of the reasons for the absence of female figures who appear and are elected in the legislative domain.

Political parties have not been able to optimize the 30% quota value standard for women's representation in the legislature, the failure of parties to carry out regeneration and provision of political education to female candidates has resulted in women's unpreparedness to face public challenges. This clearly had a serious effect on the results of the achievements of female candidates who were unable to shape voter behavior to pass them.

Women in politics in North Luwu Regency are no longer taboo, as evidenced in the executive sphere led by women. Unlike the women in the legislature, they still do not have a strong figure, even though the 2014-2019 period actually had two female council members, Rafika Said and Nirwana A. Gassing. However, for the 2019-2024 elections, they are no longer elected because the influence of the support from the power behind them is not strong enough to pass them as in the period during their election.

One of the things that still affects the political reality and voter behavior in each election is the game of money politics. It seems that this is still an important standard for getting votes so that it affects behavior, money is able to direct voters' choices because the power of money is able to dominate the votes of voters. On the other hand, political actors also play a role in money politics, so this makes no female candidates elected because of their inability to compete with the flow of money politics even though they have also incurred significant political costs.

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